VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind.

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can.

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town.

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance.

[361] [574] • [871] [204] [443] 793 [792] 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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constantly growing, or at least changing. New members are added, people who have made their mark on the society and who, although they have less family tradition behind them, are on the whole acceptable to the elite.

565* Locally the upper-class members are addressed by the formal term o senhor and a senhora, at times by meu patrão or 576 meu branco (my white), frequently by title name, such as "Dr. Louis," and in some cases by the traditional intimate term of yoyô (for a man) and yayá (for a woman). At times even the very formal, older term of Vossa Excelencia (Your Excellency) is used. Yoyô is an old term formerly used by some slaves toward their masters, and although it is generally restricted to white people, there are occasions when a member of a mulatto family is known to his intimates as yoyô. With rare exceptions, members of the upper class address all those below them simply as você, and usually use the imperative form of the verb in giving directions. These two linguistic devices [182] tend to strengthen and maintain the differences between these groups of people.

Relations between members of Class A and those below are 565* simple. As has already been stated, the landowners avoid the 571 town of Vila Recôncavo, and it is seldom that Class B town people are invited to a social gathering at a plantation or at the factory, so that these two classes are rarely in social contact. Since the rural Class B consists mainly of overseers [466] and other employees of Class A, relationships between them are those of employee and employer. However, when a planter celebrates a special occasion such as a birthday, the overseers are invited, and may "drop in" as a matter of form or courtesy; they escape as soon as possible, for they are rarely included in the brincadeiras (plays, or jokes) of the owners and their guests. For the most part the overseers and others of their class come alone, without their wives and families. This is an important indication of class position, for as a rule the wife of an overseer feels embarrassed in the company of gente (people) and refuses to go even when specially invited. The very strong em familia pattern, combined with the intimacy of the large families, makes it extremely difficult for a lower-class person to feel any sort of equality at such a gathering.

565* During the course of field work the author was given a par- 574 ● ty, a Reis, a kind of surprise party which takes place during 123 the period following the sixth of January, the Day of Kings. 571

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•574 A group of people decide to "take a party of kings" to some-
123 one's house. They wait until the lights in the house go out
571 late at night and then knock on the door, playing and singing a song which is traditional for the purpose. The owner must then open the house and let everyone in to dance and make merry. The surprise element has been removed, for it is now considered courteous to sound out the householder to see whether he would like to be the recipient of such a party, and also to give him time to prepare food and drink. The householder also has the privilege of inviting anyone he wants who might be overlooked by those who organize the party. A group of young men approached the author in the prescribed manner, and in due course all arrangements were completed. The young men were to supply an electric phonograph and records for the dancing, and the author was requested to invite the rural planters, especially those with daughters.

A group of twenty-four planters and about a hundred townspeople, factory technicians, overseers, and a few men of urban Class C came to the party. The planters arrived in a truck
[533] a little early and entered the house, which was then closed
[178] and the lights turned off. Shortly afterwards the others arrived at the door and knocked, and the band began to play the long serenade. (A band was brought along for the song, which is an important part of the Reis; but nowadays no one likes to dance to a hometown band when records are available, so the men played only the serenade and then put their instruments away.) At the end of the song, the doors and windows were opened and the guests began to pour in.

571 The rooms of the house were small, but all the furniture
*565 had been removed to make room for dancing in the two largest
574 rooms, which were joined by two wide doors. At the begin-
535 ning of the party everyone was very formal and shy; the young
123 men remained on one side of the room, the young women on
571 the other, and the entire planter group in a huddle by itself. Gradually things got under way, and as drinks were served to esquentar a gente (warm up the people) as many as could dance in the cramped quarters did so. For the first hour or so all the guests mingled, dancing with one another; then gradually the members of Class A began to pull away, at first beginning to dance among themselves and finally usurping a third room in which they danced away from the others, uninterrupted by anyone.

Reactions to this were varied in the days after the party

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO21

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when the affair was discussed. The young men were rather disappointed by the withdrawal of the upper-class girls, for they had looked forward to dancing with them with great expectations. Their disappointment, however, was expressed by saying, "We dance differently, and since it was the first time together there wasn't time to get used to each others' style." Some of the older men simply asked, "What did you expect? You know they don't mix with us." The planters, on the other hand, enjoyed the party but were embarrassed by the fact that they had created a separate group and ended up by saying that "the only kind of good party is a family party, which it was for us."

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This party was by no means typical, for the very existence of such an affair was due to the presence of a stranger in the town who was able to bring together the different elements. Under other conditions it would not have taken place. Under the novel conditions, each group after completing the formalities withdrew to itself, enjoying the party and creating no embarrassing moments for the host. Reflection on what had happened pointed out to everyone the distance between the two groups, but there was no bitterness or resentment shown by anyone. It passed as an incident, and afterwards people discussed only the part of the party they had enjoyed, ignoring the rest.

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Class A members participate in a broader schedule of activities in Salvador, where not only planters, but also professional, commercial, and industrial people mix. The children of Class A go to private schools, belong to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (organizations which have not as yet penetrated the rural zone) and to social clubs for sports and dancing. Their parents participate in a round of social activities including the theater, lectures, dances, and anniversaries. Birthdays are usually important celebrations, when as many members of the extended family as possible gather. For special occasions, such as a wedding in other parts of the family, they may go to Rio de Janeiro; at other times they go there simply for a vacation or on a shopping tour. Those who own plantations usually spend only the summer harvest season in the country. It is vacation time for the children, and they invite relatives and friends to spend some time with them swimming, fishing, hunting, and horseback riding. The entire area is their playground. Their parents participate in these activities as much as possible after their official duties of plan-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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tation administration are over. In general, however, neither the children nor the parents mix with the permanent residents of Vila Recôncavo. Although as small children they may have a worker's son as a constant playmate, by the time they are teenagers this relationship has usually faded into a fond memory.

The standard of living of this class is far above that of any of the other local groups. It is important to realize that because of the fluctuations of the sugar market, members of this class have not always had fluid wealth at their command, while at other periods they have been undeniably wealthy. But even during a slump they have been able to raise money when necessary. One of the major reasons that planters turned to the professions was the need to assure themselves of a continued income when the sugar market falls. At such times their main activities are directed toward earning a living in the city. But at those times when sugar producing is profitable the practicing of the activities becomes a strain, and one or the other must suffer. Nevertheless, at any time these people have earned enough to maintain a standard of living which compares favorably with that of the upper class in any large city. Households are complete with refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances which must be imported. Many have automobiles, receive magazines from abroad, follow Parisian dress styles, take interest in international affairs, and in general lead a life of wide interests. In the rural zone their houses are much better than those of any others, often having running water, electricity, and a full range of service provided by servants. Usually the household servants move from country to city with the family.

Class B in the rural zone of the community is made up of plantation overseers, factory technicians, and white-collar workers of the factory offices. It is almost as small as Class A, comprising about twenty adult members. As in the case of the planters, who associate with other planters outside the community, the overseers of various plantations have reunions. There is much more social contact between the overseers and the mass of workers, however, than between the planters and the workers. The planters usually know all the workers on their plantations, as well as their families; but although there is frequent visiting and chatting between the women of the two groups and between the males of the two groups, there is little basis for conversation. The planta-

The plantation worker's world is small, and conversational topics are limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However, his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, rather than host and participant. At other times the workers may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently explained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any way with the corresponding class in town. There are two overseers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read or write. In all cases the male members of this class have set up and maintained a family, educating their children and seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous possessions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also operate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus, lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

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517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
[541] become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[794] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
once. As a rule, however, church services are attended sep-
arately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North Amer-
ican small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only trav-
eling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with rel-
atives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
shopping.

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871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are
nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in
Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there.
Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Re-
côncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they
are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
present generation are studying for degrees in law and med-
*565 icine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
[867] none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
[582] freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
*565 marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
582 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
875 cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the
schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-
good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Re-
côncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both
schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
* alleviating the dullness of their lives.
565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the
factory workers, who constitute the major part of the pop-
ulation. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jaculpe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units.

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em familia. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons.

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal-group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family.

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy

[Class A Families]

to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple might have as many as twenty children. It was common among these large families for at least one child to enter the priesthood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only because of the smaller size of the families, but also because the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and settled in business; the families can no longer support married children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of being married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them have entered the professions, but recently it has become stylish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, without the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with their husbands and are now partners rather than household fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a desire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expected at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of family members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside acquaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, patriarchal families which gives people their status in the community as a whole and their right to enter new groups which form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and

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[Class A Families]

All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

[Class B Families]

capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there is little social gathering, especially for the women. There are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one another's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marrying and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and festivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower-class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their mothers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become
[836] public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the
[263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper
[843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

* 565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion
• 574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends
252 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook.
262 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and
[476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared
[273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time
[251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there
* 565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never
574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the
535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural
[369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

* 565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even
888 godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a
736 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class—the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mesticos*.

The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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the garden swing were 11 blacks, 8 mulattoes, and 7 whites. There was considerable moving about from group to group. In the garden of the governor's palace a similar band, aged about seven to thirteen years, were laughing and shouting together around another teeter-totter. Among them were 3 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 4 whites. "Beginning with his earliest years," wrote a white student, "a child in Bahia is accustomed to associating with all racial types without any distinction being made between them."

In Campo da Graça[22] 6 whites and 5 mulattoes (one of whom was quite dark) composed the team of the Faculty of Law in a soccer game with the Faculty of Medicine (among whom were 7 whites, 3 mulattoes, and 1 black). In the subsequent professional contest 9 whites, 4 mulattoes, and 4 blacks composed the visiting team from São Paulo, coached by a *cafuso*. Bahia's colors were upheld by 2 whites, 5 mulattoes, 9 blacks, and 1 *cafuso*. The referee was a *brdnco da Bahia*.

At an informal basketball game played on an outdoor court at the Fortress of São Pedro, a black and 4 mulattoes composed one team; a black, 2 mulattoes, and 2 whites, the other. The referee was a black.

At a tea dance given at Bahia's most exclusive club in honor of Getulio Vargas, president of Brazil, the city's most distinguished citizens and their families, to an approximate total of 600, were present. No blacks were among the guests, and only 28 individuals were noticeably negroid, 6 of whom were dark mulattoes. At a banquet subsequently given the President, all individuals seated at his table were white. A number of mixed-bloods, however, principally light mulattoes, were among the guests. Two of the six speakers at the

[22] On March 22, 1936.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Two of the six speakers at the dedicatory exercises for the newly constructed Instituto de Cacau on the following day were *brancos da Bahia* (each with only slight indications of Negro ancestry), and four were whites.

During the visit of a neighboring governor, a procession formed in the Avenida Sete de Setembro to escort the distinguished visitor, together with the Bahian governor, Juracy Magalhães, to the latter's palace. Riding in the procession, alighting in front of the palace, and following the two chief executives into the spacious rooms of the governor's mansion, were presumably the city's political élite, all in formal attire. Of a total of 99 persons, 70 were whites, 22 were very light mulattoes with only slightly noticeable traces of Negro lineage, 7 were dark mulattoes, and none was black. Of the escort of 23 army officials dressed in appropriate uniform, 9 were whites, 12 were very light mulattoes, 2 were dark mixed-bloods.

Of 46 members of the state legislature, 69.4 per cent were whites, 15.2 per cent were *brancos da Bahia*, and 11.0 per cent were mulattoes.[11] Of 14 aldermen, 8 were whites, 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 were mulattoes (both very light).

In legal proceedings no discrimination is at all evident. Colored individuals appear not only among the defendants but also among those engaged in the defense or the prosecution, as well as among the jury itself. Whites, however, predominate.

Of the officers of the medical association, 6 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes. Of 18 members of an elective supervisory body for the legal profession, 14 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and only 1 had noticeable evidence of mixed ancestry and that principally

[11] One deputy was a black, and there was also 1 *mameluco*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in pigmentation. An able lawyer, with an extended period of practice in Bahia, he was well regarded by his associates.

At a formal dinner given by *A Tarde*, probably the most influential Bahian daily, in honor of a noted journalist and poet, 15 whites, 4 *brancos da Bahia*, 3 light mulattoes, and 6 medium or dark mixed-bloods sat down together at the banquet table. Among the guests, according to the account on the subsequent day, were "all the editorial writers and collaborators of this newspaper, together with a few specially invited friends and admirers of the honored guest [a white]."

Among the members attending a session of the Bahian Academy of Letters were 5 whites, 1 *branco da Bahia*, and 3 mulattoes. One of the latter is an able poet, quite dark, with kinky hair.

Present at a tea dance given by Bahia's Girl Guides at the exclusive club previously mentioned were the city's social élite, including the governor. *A Tarde*, in reporting the event, said, "As was to be expected, there was present our best society—all of it, almost—making the occasion one of elegance and distinction." Of the 414 guests, 346 were whites, 64 were very light mulattoes (exhibiting only slight traces of Negro ancestry), and 3 were dark mixed-bloods. One of the latter, with kinky hair but Caucasian features, was accompanied by a light mulatto wife, almost white, and two light mulatto daughters. One of the latter danced once during the afternoon—with a white youth. Of 30 Girl Guides serving the guests, 3 showed slight traces of Negro origin. The only blacks present were the members of the jazz orchestra (composed of 3 blacks and 6 dark mulattoes) and 2 maids who had accompanied white families.

The president of a literary, semiscientific, and social or-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ganization which numbers about 345[24] of the city's intellectual élite, is a dark mixed-blood, the able engineer and Tupi scholar previously mentioned. The secretary of the organization is white, but during his absence on federal appointment in Rio the assistant secretary, a dark mulatto educator, discharges the secretarial duties. Of the 30 officers and committeemen of this institution, 24 are whites, 2 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 4 are mulattoes. Among the whites are several scions of the old aristocracy.

At a dinner of the Rotary Club, which numbers among its members some of the city's most prominent businessmen, 42 whites, 5 *brancos da Bahia*, and 1 very light mulatto (a visitor) were present. The guest speaker was white. Of 55 members, 47 are whites, 6 are *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 are very light mulattoes.

Of 28 citizens assuming prominent roles in a community organization designed to erect a mausoleum to Castro Alves, 15 were whites, 5 were *brancos da Bahia*, 7 were light mulattoes, 2 were dark mulattoes, and 1 was a black, the latter an able engineer and local historian. At a public meeting in honor of Castro Alves, the speaker was a white politician with a national reputation, an able man of letters, and scion of the old aristocracy. Of 200 individuals in the audience, only 18 were colored (15 mulattoes, mostly very light mixed-bloods, and 3 blacks).

At a recital given by a noted Brazilian pianist, where there were present, according to a newspaper account, "the most select of Bahia's artistic and social circles,"[25] the audience was composed of 116 whites, 14 mulattoes, predominantly light, and 2 blacks.

[24] According to the secretary of the organization.

[25] *Estado da Bahia*, January 22, 1937.

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* 563 575 mulatto professor that one of his friends wanted to enroll him in a club of the intermediate category located in a neighborhood of the same order, took his photograph for the club file, and ... never told him the result of his procedure; he concluded from it that the refusal was motivated by his "quality."

It is obvious that all the cases cannot be interpreted simply as examples of the screening carried on against colored persons. One notes, however, that this is a sector of social relations where there is a certain conflict, although the tension that results from it is concealed by a mechanism of accommodation on both sides. On the one hand, the clubs allege not to have in their statutes provisions that oppose the admission of colored persons, even black ones, and endeavor to give rational explanations for what the excluded candidates consider acts of discrimination; on the other hand, dark colored persons assume an attitude of negative defense by suppressing the aggressive impulses which usually result from states of frustration.

* 563 571 ● 574 In student celebrations that take place in the halls of the clubs of the highest category, restrictions against the entry of dark colored persons and against dancing between Whites and Blacks are considerably reduced. This is what the informants say, and observation altogether confirms this statement. In family reunions, not very frequent in our day among the upper classes, discrimination is relaxed. "Familiarity makes prejudices fall away," according to the utterance of a Black. "When a Black appears at a white family celebration," a student asserts, "he arouses a certain curiosity and a certain reserve until he is introduced and one knows who he is. But from the moment he is introduced, especially if he is a friend of the family, he does not encounter any difficulty in dancing even with white girls." "The girls in such cases do not, or very rarely, refuse to dance with a colored boy, especially if it is a matter of a student or a well-bred person; the mothers, however, create some opposition and appear uneasy to see their daughters approached by a dark young man, sometimes fearing that they will fall in love." This information is given by a mulatto practicing a liberal profession, who, when he was a student, took part in numerous family celebrations at the homes of Whites.